The Palace of the Boukoleon [1]

par Cyril MANGO

My argument is basically very simple. For the sake of clarity I shall first state it in its essentials and then discuss in an appendix a number of subsidiary points.

The name Boukoleon, whose etymology is uncertain, is first attested in c. AD 800 [2]. In texts of the ninth and tenth centuries it designates a stretch of shore, a harbour and, occasionally, a terrace overlooking that harbour [3]. It also identifies a descending path or staircase (καταβάσιον) leading from the upper to the lower levels of the palace area [4]. But it is never applied to the Imperial Palace in whole or in part. The designation Palace of the Boukoleon appears for the first time in c. AD 995 [5] in the highly misleading compilation known as *Patria Konstantinoupoleos*, which is the *fons et origo* of nearly all the mistakes and confusions made by scholars concerning the antiquities of the city. If I may amplify this statement, the *Patria* may be trusted when it says that a given building or monument was there and had certain visible features, but all the historical information it offers is extremely dubious and should not be accepted without corroboration from more reliable sources. Bearing this caveat in mind, we may read the short notice that concerns us. It goes like this: "The palace of the Boukoleon, which is above the wall [i.e. the Sea Wall], was extended by Theodosios the Younger, whereas Marcian made the hall, which is called Chrysotriklinos." The next paragraph speaks of something called the Palace of the Hippodrome and the Palace of the Quaestorium (Kyaistorikion), which appear to have been at the time distinct entities [6].

Fig. 1 : Wall of Nikephoros Phokas as in 1949.

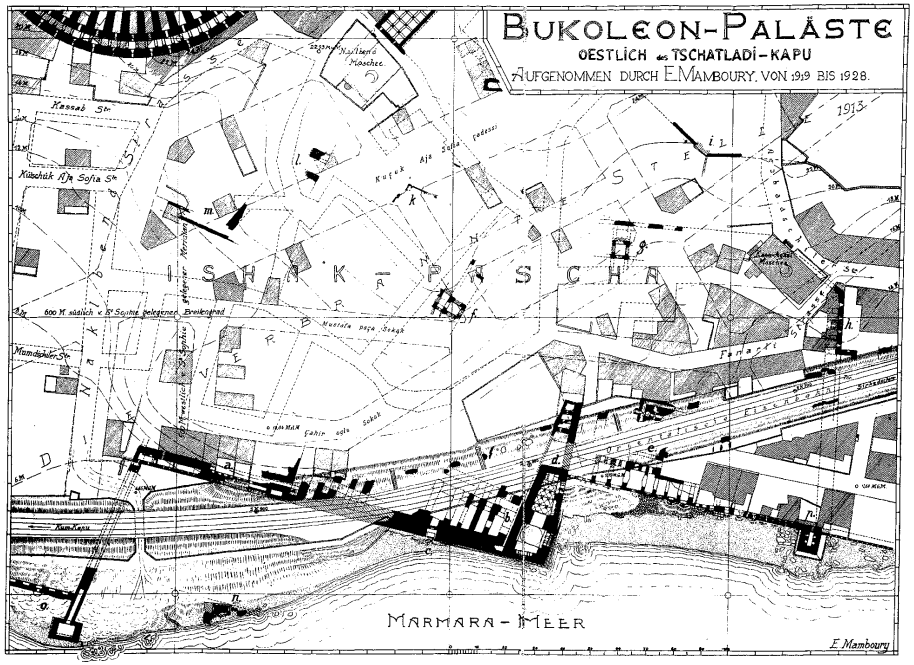

Fig. 2 : Area between Çatladīkapī and old Lighthouse Tower (after Mamboury and Wiegand). Wall of Nikephoros Phokas marked 'h'.

We need not concern ourselves with Theodosios II and Marcian, whose mention here may be safely disregarded. All we can reasonably deduce from the text is that by about the year 995 there existed a group of buildings known at the time as τὰ παλάτια τοῦ Βουκολέοντος, which rose above the Sea Wall and, presumably, included the Chrysotriklinos. This designation must have come into being in the second half of the tenth century seeing that it does not yet occur in the Book of Ceremonies.

There can be little doubt as to what caused the change of nomenclature. The emperor Nikephoros Phokas, being dissatisfied with the defences of the Great Palace, undertook the construction of a new line of fortifications, which he is said to have completed on the very day he was murdered (10 December 969). The new wall described an arc, which started and terminated on the seashore, and whose erection, we are told, necessitated the demolition of many fine buildings [7]. In other words, Nikephoros Phokas turned the Great Palace into a kind of castle, called by disgruntled contemporaries a "tyrant's acropolis." The sector enclosed by Phokas became the Palace of the Boukoleon and eventually became synonymous with the Imperial Palace as a whole as may be deduced from texts of the period of the Crusades [8].

What I have said so far is not new. It has been argued at great length in a series of articles by R. Guilland [9], many of whose conclusions I am glad to accept. The main point, however, on which I am obliged to differ from Guilland (who took no account of archaeological data) concerns the line of the new wall. Guilland thought that it enclosed pretty much the whole area of the old Imperial Palace [10], as had also been the opinion of A. van Millingen [11]. Personally, I believe that it circumscribed a much smaller area next to the harbour of the Boukoleon and that part of that wall is still standing, less visible today than it was twenty or thirty years ago (fig. 1). This stretch of wall was first recorded by Paspatis in August 1871 during the construction of the railroad. He describes it as being about 40 m. long, as it may well have been before its amputation, 12 m. high, and having a big arched gate, 6.05 m. wide, supported on four marble columns. The gate, which happened to fall on the line of the railroad, was demolished at the time [12]. Unfortunately, Paspatis, in spite of his American and European education, was not a careful observer [13]. He failed to notice the projecting tower next to the gate — indeed, one may suspect that there was a tower on each side of the gate — and he mistook the internal *chemin de ronde* for an external gallery. While he rightly recognized that he had before him part of the palace wall, he turned it, so to say, inside out [14].

The portion of wall that remained after the construction of the railroad, about 24 m. long, has been carefully described and drawn by Mamboury and Wiegand [15]. It was equipped, as I have said, with a *chemin de ronde* and had embrasures pointing to the *east*. [16] Extended to the south, it would have met the old Lighthouse Tower (fig. 2), while at its north end it forms an obtuse angle that may still be seen to run at the base of the garden wall of the Kapī Ağasī mosque (fig. 3), the latter feature not being recorded by Mamboury and Wiegand. The masonry facing, consisting (where it survives) of five courses of fairly small, squared stone blocks alternating with five courses of brick, was rightly seen by Mamboury and Wiegand as indicating "eine relativ späte byzantinische Zeit". In his general plan of the palace area, of which I am reproducing a simplified version (fig. 4) [17], Mamboury hypothetically extended the line of the wall to the north-east, to the corner of the cistern next to the Nakilbend mosque, and from there to the south to meet the so-called Tower of Belisarios, which no longer exists today and which, judging by its projection into the sea, probably protected the entrance to the harbour [18]. This hypothesis is not, I believe, too wide of the mark, but ought to be emended in one important respect. As we shall see presently, the post-969 palace enceinte included the Kathisma (the imperial box of the Hippodrome), which may be placed more or less opposite the Masonry Obelisk, i.e. roughly on the axis of the Mosaic Peristyle (see Appendix). I would suggest, therefore, that the defensive wall did not proceed in a straight line from the Kapī Ağasī mosque to the Nakilbend cistern, but turned a second corner in a northerly direction along the present Arabacılar Sokağī and Tavukhane Sokağī as far as the Hippodrome, thus narrowly bypassing the Peristyle (fig. 5). As to the western arc of the palace perimeter, Mamboury's line may be provisionally accepted, although we are ignorant of the character of the wall marked "m" on his plan (fig. 2), a wall that was destroyed in 1928 [19]. The approximate circuit I have suggested agrees, furthermore, with the street pattern prior to the great fire of 1912 [20].

I can see no good reason to deny that the wall we have been discussing, which is a very substantial defensive wall of the Middle Byzantine period, equipped with towers, is the wall of Nikephoros Phokas [21]; and if we grant that it is, certain consequences necessarily follow. In particular, those buildings that can be shown to have been inside the Palace of the Boukoleon after 969 will have to be sought within the approximate perimeter we have indicated. In this respect the Book of Ceremonies is of no help, being of earlier date. We possess, however, other pieces of evidence, especially the account by Nikolaos Mesarites of the ephemeral coup staged in 1200 by John Komnenos surnamed the Fat [22]. We should note, first, the manner in which John broke into the palace. After gaining access to St. Sophia, he and his supporters did not proceed through "the area of the axe-

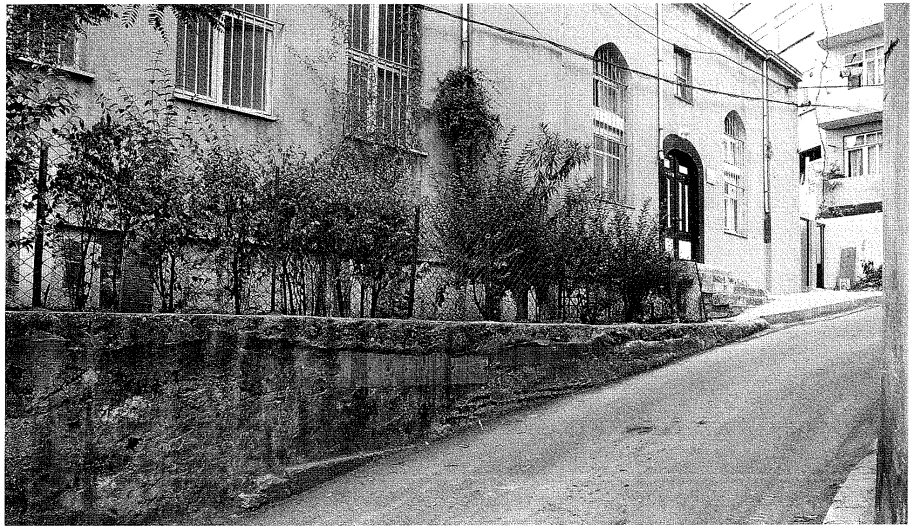

Fig. 3 : Garden enclosure of Kapī Ağasī mosque (1989).

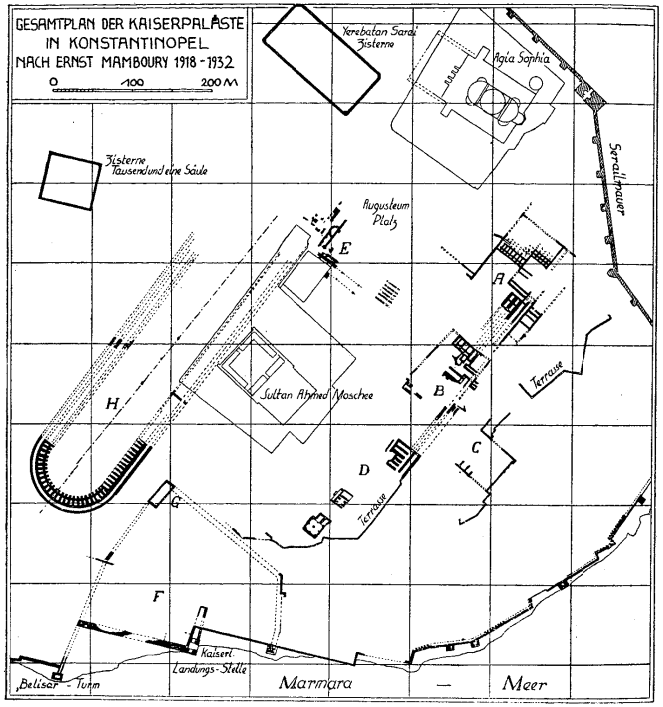

Fig. 4 : Mamboury's plan of Great Palace area (1932).

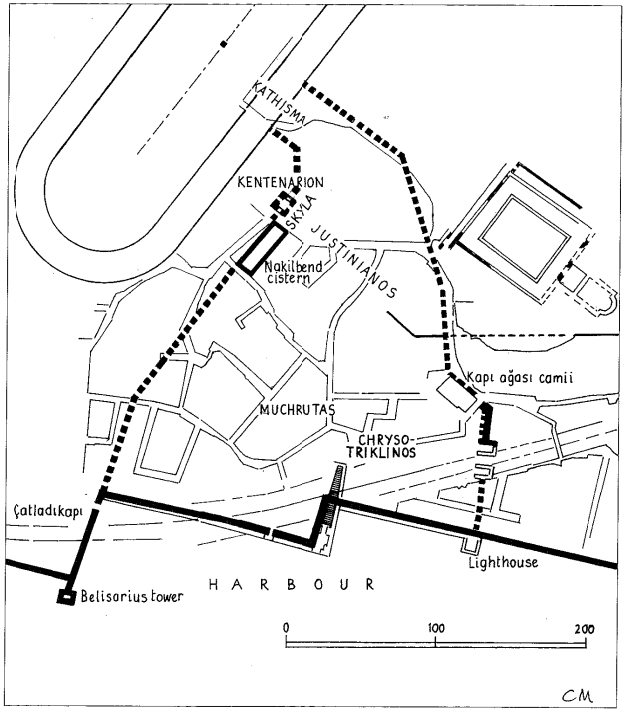

Fig. 5 : Approximate plan of the extent of the Palace of the Boukoleon.

bearers dwellings, which leads anyone who so wishes straight to the palace" [23], but followed the dark galleries of the Hippodrome (presumably the vaulted passage under the seating) to the gate Karea, which was underneath the Kathisma. John knocked on the gate, but did not gain admittance. His supporters then climbed into the Kathisma and from there threw missiles down at the small band of palace guards, who gave way, whereupon the Karea gate was forced open. Fifteen years earlier, when Andronikos I found himself besieged in the palace, it was also by breaking down the Karea gate that the insurgents forced their way in (τὸ πλῆθος ἦν εἰσχυθὲν ἔσωθεν τῶν ἀνακτόρων, ἀνατραπείσης τῆς πύλης ἥτις Καρέα λέγεται) [24]. Granted that the Karea gate afforded entrance to the palace, it must have been part of the fortified enceinte.

Mesarites served as sacristan of the palatine chapel of St. Mary of the Pharos, repository of many precious relics, and when he heard news of the occupation, he hurried to protect the treasures entrusted to his care. He arrived at the Sphendone (the curved end of the Hippodrome), went down some steps and passed through a low-lying gate beneath the tower or bastion called Kentenarion, which we may visualize as being fairly close to the apex of the enceinte of Nikephoros Phokas. Having walked under the bastion, he found himself in front of the bronze doors of the Skyla, which he managed to open, and so entered the Justinianos, the great hall of Justinian II, where he caught a glimpse of the usurper. From there he hurried on to his chapel, which he successfully defended against the assaults of the rebel's soldiers, most of whom were foreign mercenaries. In the immediate vicinity of St. Mary of the Pharos Mesarites mentions the chapel of St. Elijah and the bedchamber of Nikephoros Phokas. The next incident related by him concerns the arrival of the imperial Varangian guard. They, too, passed without resistance through the hall of Justinian II, moving in the direction of the Chrysotriklinos. John meanwhile had mounted with his men to a large hall built in the Seljuk style, named Mouchroutas. This is described as lying to the west of the Chrysotriklinos and on higher ground than the latter. In the ensuing engagement John was defeated and tried to escape down a dark passage, but was pursued by the Varangians, some of whom cut off his retreat by occupying "the labyrinthine ascent leading up to the imperial stable", the latter being by the Skyla gate. John was caught and killed in Justinian's hall.

This account, which I have somewhat simplified, allows us not only to identify the main buildings within the Palace of the Boukoleon, but also place them in sequence. Near the apex of the enceinte was the Kentenarion tower; next the Skyla gate with attached stables, leading to Justinian's hall. Farther south the Chrysotriklinos and, west of it, the Mouchroutas, a building of the twelfth century; beyond the Chrysotriklinos the terrace of the Pharos with the chapels of St. Mary and St. Elijah, which we may place behind the old Lighthouse Tower. To this list we may add the great hall of Manuel Komnenos, called Manuelites, which we know from another source to have been built above the west wall of the palace [25]. The Book of Ceremonies, which provides the main basis for topographical discussion of the palace, documents this sequence in greater detail, except, of course, for the buildings that were added after the date of its composition.

One further indication is of interest: the Nea (the New Church of Basil I), later converted into a monastery, was outside the fortified enceinte. We learn this from the account of the murder of the Grand Admiral Alexios Apokaukos in 1345. By that time the palace was in a sorry state, but its walls, though neglected, still constituted a strong castle, which Apokaukos used to imprison his political enemies to the number of about 200. One day they managed to kill Apokaukos, who had gone to inspect them without due protection, and then found themselves under siege. Being too few to defend the castle, some of them managed to slide down the walls and sought refuge in the adjoining monastery of the Nea, to the north [26].

We are now in a better position to understand the transformation of the palace carried out by Nikephoros Phokas. He did not fortify the whole of the former imperial residence, but only its more prestigious section, forming, roughly, a triangle with the harbour of the Boukoleon at its base. This was, broadly speaking, the post-Justinianic part of the palace. The core of the original palace of Constantine and Justinian, including, if I am not mistaken, the main complex of Theophilos, remai-

ned outside the enclosure and gradually fell into ruin. In terms of imperial ceremonial that represented the biggest break with tradition that had occurred in the course of six centuries. In other words, the Book of Ceremonies was compiled just before the old palace had gone out of existence and records it in its final stage of development. We also know where to look in our search for the Justinianos and the famed Chrysotriklinos. The inlaid pavement discovered in 1983 next to the railroad line [27] was certainly not far from the latter. I can only hope that before it is too late a serious effort will be made to excavate the fairly restricted area (maximum dimensions 250 by 300 m.) of the Palace of the Boukoleon. Such an excavation is bound to lead to spectacular discoveries.

Appendix

1. The position of the Kathisma

The determination of the site of the Kathisma is of importance not only for tracing the limits of the later palace, but equally for our knowledge of the early palace. Indeed, with regard to Constantine's palace it provides one of the very few potentially fixed points of reference.

That the Kathisma was situated on the east side of the Hippodrome and not above the Carceres was proved by A. Piganiol [28] and, independently, by A. Vogt [29]. It has remained unclear, however, whether it ought to be placed in the middle of the east side or off-centre and, if the latter, whether it was north or south of centre. On Vogt's reconstruction it is somewhat north of centre, opposite the Egyptian obelisk, whereas on S. Miranda's plan of 1971 [30] it is even farther north, opposite the north turning-post *(meta)*. Evidence on this question is not completely clear-cut and may be summarized under the following headings:

1. The analogy of Roman circuses and, in particular of the Circus Maximus on which the Hippodrome of Constantinople is said to have been modelled. According to J.H. Humphrey [31], the emperor in Rome watched from the Pulvinar, which was about two thirds down (i.e. away from the Carceres) the side of the circus nearest the palace. The finishing line for the chariots appears to have been directly opposite the Pulvinar, but on the *right track* [32]. If the same arrangement obtained at Constantinople, the Kathisma ought to be sought south of the centre of the east side of the Hippodrome.

2. John Lydus, *De magistratibus*, III.19 (Wuensch, p. 106), speaking of the office of the instrumentarius (keeper of judicial archives), says that he had his quarters in the Hippodrome, "underneath the imperial box in a southerly direction as far as the so-called Sphendone" (ὑπὸ τῷ τῆς βασιλείας βήματι ἐπὶ τὸν νότον ἄχρι τῆς καλουμένης Σφενδόνος). He had occupied these quarters "from olden times" and, although his office had been abolished (by the 550's), one could still consult there all the relevant documents going back to the reign of Valens (364-378) as if they had been issued the other day.

While not very precise, this indication also suggests that the Kathisma was nearer the Sphendone than the Carceres. To interpret the text of Lydus we should bear in mind that the ground dropped off fairly steeply from a point roughly opposite the Masonry Obelisk. We may envisage the quarters of the instrumentarius as being situated in the substructure pierced by fifteen arched openings, illustrated by Mamboury and Wiegand, pl. CX. Seeing that the archive in question must have been accessible to the public, we may also deduce that it was free of the palace enclosure.

3. Problem 5 of "Hero's" Geodesy [33]. This is designed to demonstrate that with the help of a dioptra (a kind of primitive theodolite) one can not only measure the distance between two points, but also find the direction of the straight line that joins them without approaching the points in question. The points are A and B, A being "at one of the seven segments (τμήματα) of the Euripos [here surely the *spina*], observed at the base of the balustrades (ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν στηθέων σκοπούμενον βάσεως)," while B is on the ground [i.e. of the arena] by the imperial Kathisma or one of the so-called changing-rooms (παρασκευαί) that are on either side, namely those that are used by runners in the gymnastic games. The dioptra is placed at point Γ, i.e. "by the circuit of the lower turning-post (πρὸς τὴν τῆς κάτω νύσσης ἀντιπεριαγωγήν)" and the shaft bearing the sights (κανών) is pointed directly at A. The surveyor then passes to the side of the dioptra, i.e. to the turning-post, and, raising a little the disc (τύμπανον), draws a perpendicular line to Δ in the direction of the flight of stairs (τῆς τῶν βαθμίδων ἀναβάθρας), Δ being "at the base of the forward balustrade (ἐπὶ τὸ ἔδαφος τῶν προεστώτων στηθέων)". The dioptra is then moved along line ΓΔ to point E, which is directly opposite B. BE is then perpendicular to ΓΔ and parallel to AΓ. The distances ΓA and EB can be measured by triangulation. If they are unequal, the difference is subtracted from the longer side and point Z (so obtained) is joined to the extremity of the shorter side. Thus, if ΓE = 12 fathom (ὀργυιαί), ΓA = 90 and EB = 81, point Z is placed 9 fathom from Γ and joined to E. Since ΓE is 12 fathom, ZE is 15 and AB equally 15. In this manner we may determine not only the distance between A and B, but also the position (θέσις) of the line that joins them.

Let us assume for the sake of argument that the distances given in the text are a reasonable approximation of reality instead of being *exempli gratia* [34]. The only point in the exercise that can be roughly determined is Γ, namely the lower or south turning-post [35]: this can be done by analogy with known Roman circuses [36]. The resulting diagram,

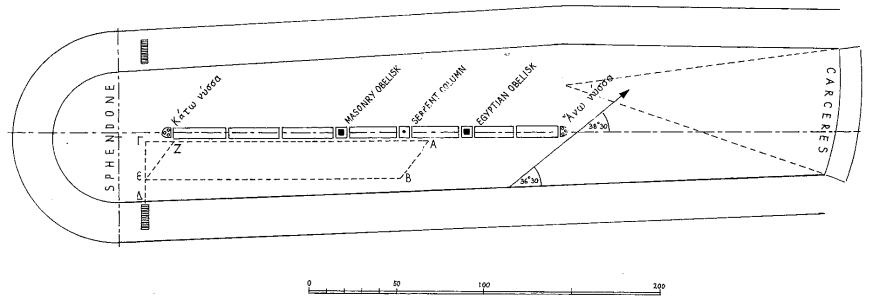

Fig. 6 : Plan of the Hippodrome illustrating Hero's Problem 5.

drawn to scale (at 1 fathom = 1.80 m.), may now be superimposed on the plan of the Hippodrome as shown in fig. 6. Point B (in front of the Kathisma or one of the two changing-rooms on either side of it) falls opposite the Serpent Column. In view of the many uncertainties involved, this, too, is a very approximate indication. It confirms nevertheless our view that the Kathisma was south of the centre point of the east wing of the Hippodrome.

2. The Harbour and the Phiale

There is no clear evidence regarding either the origin or the precise extent of the Boukoleon harbour, the uncertainty being compounded by changes of nomenclature. As to its extent, if it lay between Çatladīkapī and the old Lighthouse Tower, it would have been as much as 250 m. wide. Unfortunately, no trace has been found of the moles [37], which are still shown on Buondelmonti's well-known bird's eye view. The projection into the sea of the destroyed Tower of Belisarios suggests, as noted above, that it guarded the western mouth of the harbour If that is true, we may also draw an approximate indication of date.

It has been known for some time that the Sea Walls between the old Lighthouse Tower and Çatladīkapī are of double thickness: indeed, the recent investigations of Lâlehan Utkan suggest that in the area of the Staircase Tower they are of triple thickness, the innermost wall being the earliest, but of that we cannot speak pending the publication of her results. The outer, or rather outermost wall, may be dated with some assurance to the reign of Theophilos (829-842), as I have tried to show elsewhere [38]. The inner (or middle) wall, built partly of spolia, cannot be earlier than the sixth century on the evidence of the brickstamps it has yielded. Fig. 7 shows an unfinished fifth-century capital re-used in it. What concerns us here is that the projecting Tower of Belisarios appears to have been integral with the inner wall, which means that the harbour was installed or altered some time between the sixth and the ninth century.

The harbour is first explicitly mentioned under the name of Hormisdas in connection with the overthrow of Phokas by Heraklios in 610. It was one of three harbours on the Propontis shore that were guarded against maritime attack, the other two being the harbour of Kaisarios (i.e. of Theodosios) and that of Sophia (also known as that of Julian) [39]. It is not certain, however, that the harbour of Hormisdas was identical or co-extensive with the later harbour of the Boukoleon.

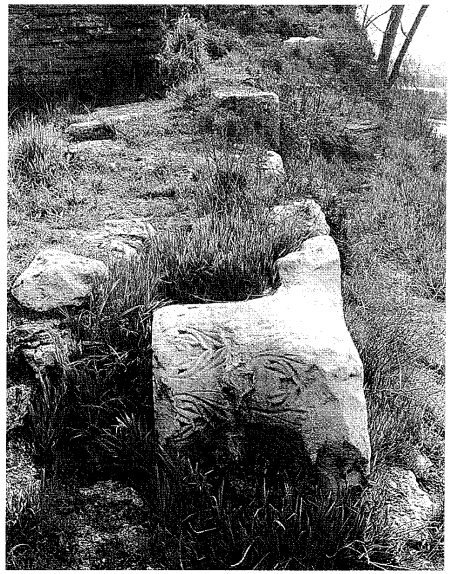

Fig. 7 : Inner Sea Wall between Maritime Gate and Staircase Tower (1996).

That is not the end of the imbroglio. As I pointed out in 1951 [40], there is evidence to suggest that at the end of the seventh century the outer limit of the palace came very close to the Chrysotriklinos and its terrace (the *heliakon* of the Pharos), for it is recorded that Justinian II, wishing to build a fountain (*phiale*) of the Blue faction, ordered the destruction of a church that stood on that spot. The church in question, that of the Theotokos *tôn metropolitou*, is described as being *near* the palace, not in the palace [41]. Furthermore, the situation of the *phiale* can be determined with some accuracy: it was next to and dominated by the *heliakon* of the Pharos [42]. If we have placed the Chrysotriklinos correctly in fig. 5, it would follow that in the early days of Justinian II the palace did not extend farther west than the later Staircase Tower. Justinian II, however, is recorded to have built new walls for the palace [43]. That may be understood to mean that he extended them to include the new *phiale*, perhaps as far as the Tower of Belisarios, which may possibly be ascribed to his activity.

The name Phiale occurs rather obscurely and more or less synonymously with that of Boukoleon in a number of texts of the ninth-tenth centuries.

1. St. Stephen the Younger (d. 765) was confined "in the prison of the Phiale" and, a few days later, was interrogated by the emperor Constantine V "at the *heliakon* of the Pharos", on which occasion members of the imperial entourage threatened to throw him down from the *heliakon* [44], which shows, incidentally, that the terrace in question did overlook a considerable drop. A *recoupement* is here possible: shortly before his death the emperor Theophilos confined his erstwhile protégé, the Persian Theophobos, "in the dungeon which is at the Boukoleon" [45], surely the same as the prison of the Phiale.

2. The miraculous icon known as Maria Romana, allegedly floated on the sea by the patriarch Germanos on the outbreak of iconoclasm, returned home in the same supernatural fashion after the death of Theophilos. When it had come "to the bay of the palace at the place called Phiale", it was observed by the faithful and lifted out of the water [46].

3. Constantine Porphyrogenitus informs us that "since time immemorial" the protospatharios of the Phiale was appointed by the emperor and had command of the oarsmen of the imperial barges, whose disputes he would judge every afternoon as he took his seat at the Phiale. It was also at the Phiale that the emperor boarded his barge when he went on an outing by water [47].

4. In 907, following a dinner in the palace at which the emperor Leo VI had a confrontation with the patriarch Nicholas Mystikos and a number of prominent bishops, the prelates in question were taken down "to the so-called Phiale by the sea" and placed in boats, while the patriarch was escorted a little more ceremoniously "by the so-called Boukoleon", likewise thrown in a boat and conveyed to the Asiatic shore [48].

The interpretation of the above passages has raised some difficulty. R.J.H. Jenkins rightly concluded that the Phiale had something to do with the Boukoleon, but went a little too far in suggesting that it designated the "pool" or "basin" of the artificial harbour, and that the name Boukoleon "may be a learned embellishment of an original βουκάλιον = φιάλη" [49]. He appears to have overlooked a passage of Theophanes Continuatus [50], which, with reference to the bath built by Basil I, states that "it rises above the so-called Phiale, which preserves the name of the stone *phiale* of the Blue faction that had stood there earlier".

To summarize: The name Phiale, which appears to have been an earlier or alternative designation of the Boukoleon, goes back to the fountain erected by Justinian II. That may not prove that the harbour received its final form under that emperor, but is a pointer in that direction.

3. The "kiosks" of Theophilos

Among the buildings that were certainly included within the walls of Nikephoros Phokas were some of Theophilos' "pleasure domes". For a fuller discussion of this matter the reader may be referred to my study quoted in note 38. Here is a summary of the evidence.

A careful reading of Theophanes Continuatus reveals that the important constructions of Theophilos in the Great Palace did not form one compact group, but were divided into two groups, one to the north-east, the other to the south. We must start with the mention of the extension, i.e. thickening of the Sea Walls, which, we are told, was meant to provide extra space for terraces and gardens from which the emperor could enjoy a view of the Bosporus [51]. When we turn next to the detailed description of Theophilos' buildings (p. 139 ff.), we find, first, an account of the main group (Karianos, Trikonchos, Sigma, etc.), which concludes with the words (p. 144.16), "These are his constructions on the eastern side. As to the south side, he first extended the terraces, as we have said earlier [i.e. on p. 88] and, after laying out the gardens that are there today, he added a number of *cubicula*", which the author proceeds to enumerate. The *cubicula* in question, built in two or three storeys because of the sloping ground, were the Kamilas, the Mousikos and others that had no name. After concluding their description, the author remarks (p. 147.4), "Such were the buildings in the palace put up by Theophilos both on the north and the south."

It follows that the Kamilas-Mousikos group was close to the Sea Walls and that conclusion enables us to establish further connections. Indeed, we are told that the mezzanine (μεσόπατον) of the Kamilas, later turned into a library by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, afforded through a marble grille a view of the Chrysotriklinos. The superstructure of the Mousikos was later turned into the Augusta's *vestiarium* and was close to her bedroom, which, in turn, was next to the Kainourgion (built by Basil I). Another hall, close to the Mousikos, is said to have faced the Porphyra (p. 147.15). All of these private and ceremonial apartments were, therefore, grouped together directly above the Boukoleon harbour.

Notes

1. Forty-five years ago André Grabar was kind enough to publish in *Cahiers archéologiques*, V, 1951, p. 179-186, a short article of mine entitled "Autour du Grand Palais de Constantinople". Not surprisingly (given the extreme complexity of the subject), what I said at the time turned out to be mostly wrong, although I may claim a little credit for having put my finger on some of the critical puzzles of palatine topography, even if I was unable to solve them. The archaeological data that have been added to the dossier in the intervening period have not been very substantial, being limited to the publication of the Second Report of the Walker Trust-University of St. Andrews excavations (*The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors*, ed. D. Talbot Rice, Edinburgh, 1958) and the chance discovery in 1983 of part of a magnificent *opus sectile* pavement more or less behind the "House of Justinian" (see n. 27). The partial clearing in 1995 of the Staircase Tower of the maritime wall, carried out by Ms. Lâlehan Utkan, has provided some further evidence (as yet unpublished). I am grateful to Ms. Utkan and to her supervisor, Dr. M.I. Tunay, for a glimpse of these new discoveries.

The following paper was presented at a conference entitled "Neue Forschungen und Restaurierungen im byzantinischen Kaiserpalast von Istanbul", held in November 1991 under the auspices of the Austrian Academy of Sciences and other bodies. The long delay in the publication of that conference's proceedings (for which the organizers are not to blame) has caused me to find another venue for my contribution. The hospitality of this journal gives me an opportunity to make amends for my flawed essay of 1951. I may add that a truncated and faulty version of the present text appeared without my knowledge in *Ayasofya Müzesi Yıllığı*, 12, 1992, p. 82-86.

2. It was noted by A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City* (hereafter *Walls*), London, 1899, p. 278-279, that the name Boukoleon was used by historians of the tenth century speaking of events in the reigns of Michael I and Theophilos, "but whether these writers do so because the name was contemporary with the events narrated, or because, when the historians wrote, it was the more familiar appellation for the scene of those events, is uncertain". The uncertainty can now be resolved thanks to the *Invention* of the relics of St. Euphemia by Constantine of Tios (c. AD 800), where it is stated that the relics in question were removed by Leo III (more probably Constantine V) to the Boukoleon (ἐπὶ τὸν Βουκολέοντα καὶ τὴν Σιδηρᾶν διαβιβάσας) and there thrown into the sea: ed. F. Halkin, *Euphémie de Chalcédoine, Subsidia hagiographica* 41, 1965, p. 89. The name also appears in the Life of St. Leo of Catania, *Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca*, 981 (early ninth century?), ed. A.A. Longo, *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s. 26, 1989, p. 93.16 (φθάσαντες δὲ τὸν Βουκολέοντα, λιμὴν γὰρ [οὕτως?] ὀνομαζόμενος ἦν); BHG 981b, ed. V.V. Latyšev, "Neizdannye greèeskie agiografiéeskie teksty", *Mém. Acad. Imp. de St.-Pét.*, sér. VIII, t. 12/2, 1914, p. 22, ch. 25 (ὡς δὲ τῷ καλουμένῳ Βουκολέοντι παρέβαλον, ὁρμητήριῳ τυγχάνοντι παρ'αὐτὰ τὰ βασίλεια).

3. Mentioned in connection with the coup of Romanos Lekapenos (919), in the course of which the empress Zoe went ἐν τῷ τοῦ Βουκολέοντος ἡλιακῷ, no doubt to observe the usurper's fleet: Leo Grammaticus, Bonn ed., p. 298; *cf.* Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, p. 207; Zonaras, Bonn ed., III, p. 467. Less known is the reference in the Geodesy of "Hero of Byzantium" (time of Constantine VII), cod. Vatic. gr. 1605, f. 56r: αὗται δὲ αἱ γραμμαὶ (the meridian and the equator) ἐν τῷ ἀξιαγάστῳ βασιλικῷ πρὸς νότον παρακυπτηρίῳ τοῖς Βουκολέοντος ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐγχαραχθεῖσαι, ἐπὶ τῶν πρασίνων ἔκκεινται κοσμητορίων· τὴν δὲ τούτων εὕρεσιν ἐν τῇ θέσει τῶν ἡλιακῶν ἀνεγράψαμεν ὡροσκοπίων. The reading has been changed to τοῦ Βουκολέοντος in the ed. by A. Vincent, *Notices et extraits*, XIX/2, 1862, p. 394. The form [ἐν?] τοῖς Βουκολέοντος suggests that it may have been derived from a personal name. A sakellarios Boukkoleon appears in the dossier of Pope Martin I (d. 655): Hypomnestikon of Theodoros Spoudaios, ed. R. Devreesse, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 53, 1935, p. 72.

4. More precisely between the Heliakon of the Pharos and the Nea Ekklesia: *De Cerimoniis*, I.19, Bonn ed. p. 117; I.20, p. 120.

5. The date of the *Patria* is deduced from the statement that 458 years had passed since the construction (ἀφ' οὗ ἐκ-τίσθη) of St. Sophia: *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Preger, p. 284. Th. Preger himself interpreted this to mean AD 995 (537+458), whereas A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos* (Poikila byzantina, 8), 1988, p. 193, reckons from the beginning of the construction of St. Sophia and so obtains 990. It may be further pointed out that according to the internal chronology of the *Narratio de S. Sophia*, incorporated into Book IV of the *Patria*, the church was completed only in 548 (*sic*).

6. *Script. orig.*, p. 256.

7. Leo diaconus, Bonn ed., p. 64 (περίβολον ἐκ τοῦ θατέρου μέρους τοῦ πρὸς θάλατταν ἐπικλινοῦς τῶν ἀνακτόρων τειχίζειν ἀρξάμενος, κατὰ θάτερον πρὸς θάλατταν συνεπέρανε); Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, p. 275 (πολλὰ γὰρ ἔργα κύκλῳ ὄντα τοῦ παλατίου, εἰς κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος ἐξειργασμένα, καταστρεψάμενος ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τυραννεῖον κατὰ τῶν ἀθλίων πολιτῶν ἀπειργάσατο). *Cf.* Zonaras, Bonn ed., III, p. 507-508, 512.

8. As already pointed out by Millingen, *Walls*, p. 284-286 and R. Guilland, *Byzantinoslavica*, 11, 1950, p. 68-69. Anna Comnena, ed. Leib, I, p. 105, applies the name Boukoleon to the upper palace (τὸ ὑπερκείμενον παλάτιον) as distinct from τὸ κάτω παλάτιον, which shows that by the 11th-12th century it was no longer limited to the buildings by the seashore.

9. Reprinted in *Études de topographie de Constantinople byzantine*, Berlin, 1969, I, p. 249-367 from *Byzantinoslavica* 10 (1949) — 13 (1952).

10. *Byzantinoslavica* 13, 1952, p. 111-113. He is not sure whether the wall enclosed the Chalke and the old quarters of the guards (Scholarii, Excubitores and Candidati), but is for some reason convinced that it contained the Tribunal and the Triklinos of the Nineteen Couches and that it rejoined the seashore in the area of Ahırkapı.

11. *Walls*, p. 281: "from the neighbourhood of Ahour Kapoussi on the east to Tchatlady Kapou on the west".

12. Βυζαντιναὶ μελέται, Constantinople, 1877, p. 120. However, in *The Great Palace of Constantinople*, trans. W. Metcalfe, London, 1893, p. 22, he gives the length of the wall as only about 65 ft.

13. For his biography see N.K. Vlachos, Μικρασιατικὰ χρονικά, 18, 1988, p. 185-239.

14. See the plan appended to his *Great Palace*.

15. *Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1934, p. 18-19.

16. This crucial fact was already noted by Millingen, *Walls*, p. 282 n. 3, who evaded the difficulty by supposing that the wall in question encircled only the Palace of the Boukoleon, which he distinguished from the larger area of the Great Palace.

17. From *Gnomon*, 12, 1936, p. 232. A detailed version of the same plan appears in A.M. Schneider's *Byzanz*, Berlin, 1936, pl. 10.

18. Millingen, *Walls*, *loc. cit.*, also believed that the enclosure terminated at Çatladıkapı.

19. *Kaiserpaläste*, p. 20.

20. See the aerial view of 1916 in *Kaiserpaläste*, pl. II and the Turkish map of c. 1880, ed. E.H. Ayverdi, *19. asırda Istanbul haritası*, Istanbul, 1958, sheet B3.

21. Their identity is accepted by Schneider, *Byzanz*, p. 28.

22 Ed. A. Heisenberg, *Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos*, Progr. d. K. Alten Gymnasiums zu Würzburg, 1907.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 24, possibly referring to the old quarters of the palace guards. Note that according to Mesarites this direct approach offered no obstacle.

24. Niketas Choniates, ed. van Dieten, p. 346.

25. See P. Magdalino, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 4, 1978, p. 106-108, who rightly argues that the Mouchroutas was distinct from the Manuelites. The latter is described in the synodal acts of 1166 as being τοῦ δυτικωτέρου τείχους ἐφύπερθεν, and appears to have been oriented north-south: A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, IV, Rome, 1831, p. 36-37.

26 Nikephoros Gregoras, Bonn ed., II, p. 737: διὰ τῶν μεσοτοίχων καταρρέοντες ἐς τὴν ἐχομένην τῆς Νέας μονήν. *Cf.* Kantakouzenos, Bonn ed., II, p. 545: τὸ φρούριον ἐκλιπόντες ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγγὺς κατέφυγον ναὸν τῶν Ἐννέα ταγμάτων. Note that John of Herakleia (uncle of Nikephoros Gregoras) was offered as a living τὴν Νέαν μονὴν τὴν παρὰ τὰ βόρεια τῶν βασιλείων κειμένην πλευράν: V. Laurent in *Échos d'Orient* 32, 1933, p. 313-315, who mistakenly believes that the palace in question was that of Blachernai. Gregoras, II, p. 735, refers to the *chemin de ronde* and crenellations of the palace wall as being then in poor condition. According to Stephen of Novgorod (1349), the palace walls were higher than those of the city: G.P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Washington, D.C., 1984, p. 39.

27. N. Asgari, *II. Araştırma sonuçlarî toplantîsî*, Izmir, 1984, p. 45-46.

28. *Deuxième Congrès intern. des études byz.*, Belgrade 1927 (published 1929), p. 56.

29. *Byzantion*, 10, 1935, p. 476 ff. *Cf.* A. Piganiol, *Byzantion*, 11, 1936, p. 383 ff.

30. *Étude de topographie du Palais Sacré de Byzance*, Mexico City. Miranda published several successive reconstructions which differ widely from one another.

31. *Roman Circuses*, London, 1986, p. 78 ff.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 85 ff.

33. Cod. Vatic. gr. 1605, ff. 45r-46r; ed. Vincent, p. 362-364.

34. I have found only two instances were Hero's figures can be verified. The first concerns the cistern of Aspar (Vincent, p. 386), whose dimensions are given as 70 fathom, i.e. about 126 m. sq., whereas in reality they are 152 m. sq. The second (Vincent, p. 360) gives the diameter of the Sphendone as 45 fathom = 81 m.: in fact it is 76 m. This inspires a little more confidence.

35. That ἄνω and κάτω refer to north and south respectively, and not the other way round, may be deduced from Problems 3 and 4.

36. A circus whose dimensions appear to have corresponded fairly closely to those of Constantinople is that of Lepcis Magna. Its Euripos was 231 m. long (including the *metae*) and its far *meta* was about 25 m. distant from the centre of the curved end.

37. Choniates, ed. van Dieten, p. 129.53, speaks of moles in the plural (τοὺς προβλῆτας).

38. "Ancient Spolia in the Great Palace of Constantinople", *Byzantine East, Latin West. Art-Historical Studies in Honor of K. Weitzmann*, Princeton, 1995, p. 645-649.

39. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Excerpta de insidiis*, ed. C. de Boor, Berlin, 1905, p. 150 from John of Antioch.

40. *Cahiers archéologiques*, V, p. 181.

41. Theophanes, ed. de Boor, p. 367-368.

42. *De Cerimoniis*, I.64, p. 289-292.

43. Theophanes, *loc. cit.*

44. *Vita Stephani iunioris, PG* 100, col. 1156D, 1160A.

45. Theophanes Continuatus, Bonn ed., p. 136. *Cf.* Leo Grammaticus, p. 227; Genesius, ed. Lesmueller-Werner and Thurn, p. 42.

46. E. von Dobschütz, "Maria Romana", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 12, 1903, p. 201.

47. *De administrando imperio*, ed. Moravcsik and Jenkins, ch. 51.46 ff.

48. *Vita Euthymii*, ed. C. de Boor, Berlin, 1888, ch. XIII.15.

49. *De administrando imperio. Commentary*, ed. R.J.H. Jenkins *et alii*, London, 1962, p. 199.

50. P. 336.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

Le front oriental de la forteresse byzantine de Sahyūn

par Jean-Pascal FOURDRIN

En 962 le général Nicéphore Phocas, en lutte contre l'émir hamdanide Sayf al-Dawla, lui ravit sa capitale Alep et les places de Delouk, Ra'ban, Ma'rach et Menbidj situées dans la région limitrophe de l'Empire. Pour éphémère qu'elle fût, cette série de succès marqua, depuis son repli sur la ligne montagneuse du Taurus, le début de l'avantage militaire de Byzance sous l'impulsion d'un général issu d'une grande famille arménienne, Jean Tzimiscès, auquel Nicéphore confia, après son intronisation, le commandement suprême de l'Orient. En 965 furent prises les places importantes de Tarse et Mopsueste en Cilicie ; en 969 tombait la ville syrienne d'Antioche dont le siège patriarcal était resté vacant depuis l'assassinat de son titulaire, Christophore, deux ans auparavant.

Successeur de Nicéphore au trône impérial, Jean Tzimiscès poursuivit cette politique d'expansion territoriale, notamment en Mésopotamie. La pression des Fatimides, récemment installés en Égypte, l'obligea à mener de nouvelles campagnes en Syrie [1] et c'est au cours des

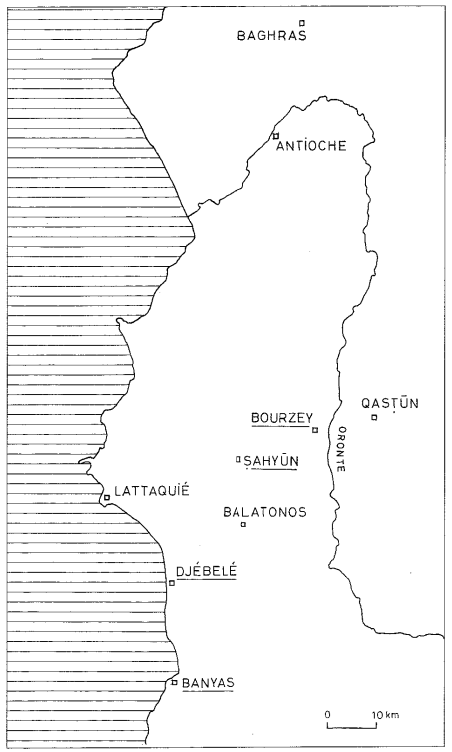

Fig. 1 : Carte de la région d'Antioche (en souligné, places conquises en 975 par Jean Tzimiscès).